1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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PREFACE

● 122 THE project described in this monograph was first planned early in 1941. In that year support was received from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and a leave of absence was obtained from the University of Michigan. After preliminary plans for field work had been completed, America's entry into World War II brought about a delay of several years in carrying out the program.

In January, 1948, I was fortunate enough to secure a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and an additional grant of funds from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. Accompanied by my wife I left for Chile at the end of the month and arrived in Santiago on February 19, 1948. Here we met Mr. Raúl González Mella, a doctoral candidate in geography at the University of Chile, who had previously agreed to serve as a field assistant. After two weeks spent in visiting museums and libraries and conferring with various scholars in Santiago, we entrained for Temuco, capital of Cautín province, in the heart of the Indian-inhabited territory still known as the Frontera (Map 1).

Many students have expressed such lively curiosity about the methods used by an anthropologist in locating a specific field station and in making initial contact with native informants that a short statement of the procedure followed in this instance may not be amiss.

Before we left the United States, it was learned from anthropologists conversant with Chile that the Reverend Dillman S. Bullock was one of the best informed men on Araucanian matters in that country. An exchange of letters brought a cordial invitation to visit Mr. Bullock at the famed agricultural station called El Vergel, in Angol. He received us on March 4, 1948, and advised us to plan to work in the neighborhood of Cholchol, to get in touch with members of the Anglican Misión Araucana stationed at Quepe and Cholchol (Map 2), and to

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. [622 537] Skill in oratory and associated arts was once a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

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[1] For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2] Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3] Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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EDITOR'S NOTE

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From February to May, 1941, Dr. Donald D. Brand (Editor-in-Chief of the NEW MEXICO ANTHROPOLOGIST, Professor of Anthropogeography, and Head of the Department of Anthropology) was a member of a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace group that visited a number of Latin American countries. While in Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, Dr. Brand visited museums and universities, and became acquainted with the anthropologists and geographers of the various countries. Being aware of the mutual ignorance concerning each other among the anthropologists of the Pan-American nations, Dr. Brand has drawn up a series of studies which eventually will cover most of the New World countries. These studies combine personal knowledge and library research. This number of the NEW MEXICO ANTHROPOLOGIST is dedicated to anthropology in Chile.

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8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866 and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323–352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

Molinari (San Martín de los Andes and Buenos Aires); Federico Graef, geologist and surveyor (San Martín de los Andes); Emelio Frey (Bariloche); Jaime F. Wood (Estancia Huechahue); Victor Muller and Enrique Korn (Buenos Aires); Horácio Fernandez Beschtedt (Río Negro); and to Dr. Alberto Anciano and Ig. Alexandro Cané (Museo de Bariloche).

To Margaret Mondloch, my field assistant in both Chile and Argentina, I owe the greatest debt of all for her intelligent and gracious help in planning fieldwork and making contacts, and for her untiring and unselfish work in taking and transcribing field notes. The success of the study is in no small degree due to her alertness, patience, and perseverance.

To Mother Rosamond Pratschner, Prioress of St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minn., I am indebted for granting leave-of-absence from my duties of teaching for the duration of the fieldwork in Chile, and for encouragement of the study from its very beginning; to Mother Richarda Peters, subsequent Prioress, for leave-of-absence for the research in Argentina. The writer is also indebted to Dr. Alfred Métraux, Director of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Paris, for his supporting interest, especially during the fieldwork, and for his letters of introduction to persons in key positions in Chile; to Dr. Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History, for valuable leads, particularly in connection with the study of the mental development, behavior, and play life of the child; to Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for letters to customs officers, police, and transportation authorities in the South American countries visited regarding accessories for the study; and to Wilson D. Wallis of the University of Minnesota and the late Father John M. Cooper of Catholic University for their unfailing interest and advice.

I am sincerely grateful to Elsie Lelonek for typing the manuscript and to Mary Lou Larson Braun for proofreading it. And I wish to thank members of the Smithsonian scientific staff, particularly Dr. A. C. Smith of the United States National Herbarium for checking the scientific names of plants and animals; and the editorial staff for assistance in publication of the paper.

I also acknowledge my indebtedness and express my gratitude to my brother, W. P. Hilger, for financial assistance in the fieldwork in Chile; to the American Philosophical Society for grants-in-aid for the research in Chile (Grant No. 805, Penrose Funds) and Argentina (Grant No. 1341, Penrose Funds); to the Wenner-Gren Foundation

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for Anthropological Research; and to I. A. O'Shaughnessy, of St. Paul, Minn., whose generous financial grant to the Smithsonian Institution helped to make possible the publication of this work.

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ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition,* and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Professors J. H. Steward and E. H. Winter and Mr. Sol Miller for reading painstakingly through more than one version of the manuscript and for suggesting numerous improvements and providing fresh insights. I am of course quite pleased that Professor Steward consented to write the Foreword.

To the members of the Editorial Board of the University of Illinois monograph series in anthropology, Professors J. Casagrande, C. Osgood, and J. Russell, I express thanks for many excellent suggestions concerning organization and style.

122 Finally, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made research among the Mapuche possible.

12: Fasan E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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I wish to thank the following persons for their valuable assistance in connection with the preparation of this monograph. I have benefited from the criticism and encouragement of Professors Julian H. Steward and Edward H. Winter and Mr. Sol Miller, each of them read several chapters of an early draft of this manuscript. To Professor Ralph Thomlinson and Dr. Rodney Needham I am very grateful for their painstaking reading of the entire manuscript and many incisive comments.

I also wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible my fieldwork among the Mapuche for twelve months during 1952–54.

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LA: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a load offering for the *shumpalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *weza lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shumpalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forms of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except